

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 19877 01 OF 03 301848Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----011014 301850Z /40
O 301821Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3572

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 19877

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO EMBASSIES PARIS AND LONDON
AND TO USMISSION USBERLIN FOR AMBASSADOR STOESSEL

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM NATO GW
SUBJECT: FOUR-POWER CONSULTATIONS ON SALT

REFS: (A) BONN 19800; (B) BONN 19753; (C) BONN 19688;
(D) STATE 281255

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE FRG-PROPOSED AGENDA FOR THE
DECEMBER 7 MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS ON SALT
BUILDS ON THE INITIAL THOUGHTS PROVIDED BY THE US BUT
RESTRUCTURES THE PROPOSED ORDER OF DISCUSSION OF SOME
OF THE PRINCIPAL TOPICS. THE DUAL OBJECTIVE OF THE
FRG WOULD BE TO TAKE UP WHAT IT SEES AS THE MOST URGENT
ITEMS FIRST, AND ALSO TO PRESENT AN AGENDA MORE
LIKELY OF BEING ACCEPTED BY THE FRENCH. ANY
DISCUSSION OF THE ER WEAPON WOULD COME AT THE END OF
THE SUGGESTED AGENDA.

THE GERMANS STILL HOPE THAT ACDA DIRECTOR WARNKE WILL BE
ABLE TO VISIT BONN FOR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BEFORE
DECEMBER 7. THEY WOULD SEE NO NEED FOR AN AGENDA FOR
SUCH DISCUSSIONS, WHICH THEY UNDERSTAND WOULD CONSIST

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 19877 01 OF 03 301848Z

OF AN UPDATE ON SALT NEGOTIATIONS WITH AN OPPORTUNITY
FOR THE FRG TO POSE QUESTIONS.

ACTION REQUESTED: REACTIONS TO THE FRG'S PROPOSED
AGENDA, GUIDANCE ON FURTHER STEPS IN COORDINATING THE
AGENDA, AND INFORMATION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF US-FRG
CONSULTATIONS BEFORE DECEMBER 7. END SUMMARY.

QUADRIPARTITE MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS

1. THE DCM MET THIS MORNING (NOVEMBER 30) WITH
POLITICAL DIRECTOR BLECH AND DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER
RUTH TO RECEIVE FRG PROPOSALS FOR AN AGENDA FOR THE
DECEMBER 7 DISCUSSION OF SALT AMONG THE FOUR FOREIGN
MINISTERS. STRESSING THAT IT WAS NOT A FORMAL
PROPOSAL BUT SIMPLY A DRAFT FOR CONSIDERATION BASED
IN LARGE PART ON THE US AGENDA SUGGESTIONS (REF D),
BLECH GAVE THE DCM THE FOLLOWING DRAFT AGENDA:

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 19877 02 OF 03 301849Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----011028 301851Z /42
O 301821Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3573

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 19877

NODIS

BEGIN TEXT

I

1. STRATEGIC PARITY AS A RESULT OF SALT II;
CONSEQUENCES FOR THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE TRIAD.
2. CURRENT SALT II-RELATED PROBLEMS WITH SPECIAL
RELEVANCE FOR THE EUROPEAN ALLIES:
 - CRUISE MISSILES
 - NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE
 - DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (SOVIET DEMAND FOR
RADICAL FBS SOLUTION, SOVIET MIDDLE-RANGE
POTENTIAL)

3. POSSIBLE CONTENT OF SALT III

4. ORGANIZATION OF FUTURE SALT NEGOTIATIONS;
CONSULTATION MECHANISM OF THE ALLIANCE.

II

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 19877 02 OF 03 301849Z

1. THE SECURITY SITUATION

-- IN THE STRATEGIC AREA

-- IN THE MIDDLE-RANGE AND TACTICAL AREA

-- IN THE CONVENTIONAL AREA

2. PRESENT AND FUTURE CAPABILITIES OF THE ALLIANCE; IN
PARTICULAR

-- MODERNIZATION OF THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL OF THE
ALLIANCE

-- "EUROPEAN CRUISE MISSILE OPTIONS"

END TEXT

2. IN ELABORATING ON THE FRG DRAFT, BLECH COMMENTED
THAT THE US IDEAS FOR AN AGENDA HAD BEEN CONVINCING AND
ALL-ENCOMPASSING -- BUT ALSO EXTREMELY AMBITIOUS.
COVERING ALL OF THE TOPICS ON THE US AGENDA, IN THE
ORDER SUGGESTED, WOULD BE A TREMENDOUS EXERCISE. THE
FRG WAS THEREFORE SUGGESTING A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO
THE CONSULTATIONS WHICH WOULD BE BOTH LESS AMBITIOUS
AND AT THE SAME TIME POSSIBLY MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE
FRENCH.

3. WHILE THE US APPROACH, BLECH CONTINUED, WAS BASED
ON AN INITIAL EVALUATION OF THE GENERAL SECURITY
SITUATION IN THE FUTURE, LEAVING DISCUSSION OF
SPECIFIC SALT-RELATED ISSUES TO THE END, THE FRG WOULD
REVERSE THIS APPROACH. IT WOULD BEGIN WITH A

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 19877 02 OF 03 301849Z

CONSIDERATION OF THE CONCRETE ISSUES PRESENTED BY
SALT II (PART I OF THE ABOVE AGENDA), AND THEN WORK

INTO THE BROADER SECURITY ASPECTS (PART II). BLECH COMMENTED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW AT THE PRESENT TIME WHAT THE FRENCH ATTITUDE WOULD BE. NEVERTHELESS, THEY HAD IN THE PAST BEEN PREPARED TO DISCUSS CERTAIN MATTERS FREELY SO LONG AS THE TERMS OF REFERENCE WERE NOT FORMALIZED. IN HIS ESTIMATION, IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO GAIN FRENCH ACCEPTANCE TO PART II OF THE SUGGESTED AGENDA, BUT AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS CONCRETE PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE SUGGESTED UNDER PART I SEEMED MORE PROMISING. RUTH ADDED THAT, EVEN IF THE FRENCH TURNED DOWN PART II, PART I CONTAINED A SAFETY VALVE IN THAT THERE COULD BE FREE DISCUSSION OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION UNDER SUGGESTED ITEM I.1.

PROCEDURES FOR COORDINATION OF AGENDA

4. BLECH EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT, AFTER THE US HAD CONSIDERED THE FRG PROPOSAL AND ALSO THE PRELIMINARY FRENCH REACTION TO THE INITIAL US DEMARCHE IN PARIS, THE US WOULD PRESENT CONCRETE AGENDA PROPOSALS IN

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 19877 03 OF 03 301937Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----011341 301944Z /47
O 301821Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3574

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 19877

NODIS

ALL THREE CAPITALS. THE DCM AGREED THAT THIS SEEMED A LOGICAL PROCEDURE AND UNDERTOOK TO REPORT BLECH'S SUGGESTION.

5. BLECH NOTED THAT THE FRENCH INSISTENCE THAT THERE COULD BE NO CONSULTATIONS BEFORE THE QUADRIpartite MINISTERIAL DINNER SEEMED TO RULE OUT DISCUSSIONS EVEN OF THE AGENDA AT THE DECEMBER 7 SENIOR LEVEL MEETING.

HE ADDED THAT HE NEVERTHELESS INTENDED TO SAY SOMETHING ON THE SUBJECT AT LEAST OVER LUNCH, IF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS LUNCHEDED TOGETHER.

6. BLECH ALSO SUGGESTED THAT, ONCE THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE AGENDA, IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE FOR THE US AND THE FRG (PRESUMABLY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS) TO DISCUSS IT FURTHER. THE AIM WOULD BE TO REACH A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SPECIFIC TOPICS WOULD BE COVERED UNDER EACH ITEM OF THE AGENDA.

US-FRG BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS

7. BLECH CLARIFIED THAT THE ABOVE DRAFT AGENDA WAS INTENDED AS A SUGGESTION ONLY FOR THE QUADRIPARTITE MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION AND WAS NOT RELATED TO THE BILATERAL TALKS WHICH THE GERMANS HOPE WILL TAKE PLACE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 19877 03 OF 03 301937Z

BEFORE DECEMBER 7. BLECH UNDERSTOOD, ON THE BASIS OF A RECENT CONVERSATION BETWEEN VON STADEN AND WARNKE, THAT -- IF WARNKE WERE ABLE TO COME TO BONN BEFORE DECEMBER 7 -- THE PRIMARY PURPOSE WOULD BE TO PROVIDE UPDATED INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. HIS VISIT WOULD ALSO PERMIT THE GERMANS TO ASK QUESTIONS. THEY WOULD WELCOME A VISIT UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES AND WOULD NEED NO AGENDA FOR IT.

FOLLOW-UP TO DECEMBER 7 CONSULTATIONS

8. BLECH EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE MINISTERS WOULD AGREE ON FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS AT THE POLITICAL DIRECTOR LEVEL, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE SIMPLY TO CALL FOR ONE OR TWO MEETINGS OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS, WHO WOULD THEN REPORT TO CAPITALS; THERE SHOULD BE NO REFERENCE TO FUTURE MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS.

9. BLECH ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT AT THIS STAGE IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT HOW FAR THE FRENCH WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO. THE FRG EMBASSY IN PARIS HAD BEEN TOLD AT THE WORKING LEVEL THAT NO DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON ANY FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS. BLECH SPECULATED THAT ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THAT THE FRENCH WOULD AGREE TO LATER DISCUSSIONS, BUT ONLY AMONG MINISTERS. THERE WERE OTHER POSSIBILITIES -- THAT THEY WOULD NOT AGREE TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AT ALL (IN WHICH CASE CONSULTATIONS MIGHT HAVE TO CONTINUE BILATERALLY OR POSSIBLY TRILATERALLY), OR THAT THEY WOULD BE INTERESTED IN PURSUING CONSULTATIONS BUT NOT

QUADRIPARTITELY (IN WHICH CASE A COMPLICATED NETWORK OF BILATERALS WOULD ENSUE).

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 19877 03 OF 03 301937Z

REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SCHMIDT

10. BLECH PROVIDED NO INFORMATION ON THE PREVIOUS DAY'S FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. HE STATED THAT THE CHANCELLOR WAS PREPARING A REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND THAT IT MIGHT BE SENT BEFORE DECEMBER 7. HE WAS UNWILLING TO PREDICT THE CONTENT OF THE LETTER, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO TREATMENT OF THE ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPON. BLECH DID COMMENT THAT, WHILE THE ERW MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS UNDER ITEM II.2. OF THE PROPOSED FRG AGENDA, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO GO INTO THAT SUBJECT AT THE PRESENT TIME.

11. ACTION REQUESTED:

A. INFORMATION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN BONN BEFORE DECEMBER 7;

B. REACTIONS TO THE INFORMAL AGENDA SUGGESTIONS IN PARA 1 ABOVE; AND

C. GUIDANCE ON THE DEPARTMENT'S PREFERRED PROCEDURE FOR FURTHER COORDINATION OF THE AGENDA FOR THE DECEMBER 7 MINISTERIAL MEETING. STOESSEL

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, PLANNING MEETINGS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN19877
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840084-1569
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977115/aaaaadyh.tel
Line Count: 314
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0ba53b18-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 BONN 19800, 77 BONN 19753, 77 BONN 19688, 77 STATE 281255
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 559096
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FOUR-POWER CONSULTATION ON SALT
TAGS: PARM, US, UK, FR, GE, NATO
To: STATE SS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0ba53b18-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009